

Vigilante gang must be stopped!

Whites and would-be whites are taking some very dangerous steps to protect their property and privileges in this country. They have formed themselves into terrorist vigilante gangs and are driving around the Central Area and certain other areas beating up and intimidating the youths. They have the approval of the Government, who has apparently granted them the status of Constables. They wear arm bands marked "Special Police" and carry rifles, shotguns, revolvers and guns.

On the 22nd August at about 10 p.m. Gary Hylton, a black man, was standing with other men at the gate of Casino Royale at the Globe Cinema in Vineyard. A long blue limousine drove up and some white men

emerged. Some of the youth who had been enjoying a few "herbs" ran, dropping the "wisdom weed". Hylton, who had not been smoking, remained where he was. The white men stuck up Hylton, and searched him. Then they proceeded to beat him from head to foot. He was handcuffed and dragged into the car and taken to the Vineyard Town Police Station. On the way, the white men abused him and threatened to shave off his beard.

At the Station it was discovered that Hylton was bleeding from a 4-inch long cut on his shin and one of the men took Hylton's face-rag and put it on the cut. The chief vigilante, referred to as "commandant GUY", showed the station guard the "sticks" they had picked up and said, "we find these but you

know the new directive we have. We can't just let him walk out of here scotch free. Let us charge him for loitering."

The youth was later taken to the Central Police Station by the Vineyard Town Police. By this time he could hardly walk as in addition to the cut on his shin, the knee of his other leg was very swollen. The police at the Central Lock-up refused to take Hylton in that condition and he was taken to the hospital and treated. Later he was returned to the lock-up where he remained until 2 p.m. the next day. He was granted bail with a surety of £2 to appear at the Petty Sessions Court at Half-Way-Tree on Monday the 25th of August. When he attended Court, Hylton was informed that there is no Petty Session Court on

Mondays. He went back on the Tuesday but no information had been laid against him.

Apart from the "commandant" GUY, the youth has since identified another of those who beat him as a NASRALLA.

On another occasion some black youths in a car were held up by vigilantes in front of the Prime Minister's residence. They were lined up alongside their car while these white men shoved rifles in their faces and attempted to search them and the car. The leader of this group has been identified by one of the youths as a man named BILL GENTLES.

Abeng has been informed that these men have been frequenting the Franklin Town and Vineyard

Town areas recently

If white racists, in order to protect their privilege, can organise to terrorise black people under the shelter of the law, then black people must organise and take all action necessary to assert their freedom and human rights.

Abeng is preparing a complete list of the names, descriptions and other particulars of these men, several of whom are already known to us, and we intend to publish them shortly. They had better start wearing white hoods over their faces like their counterparts elsewhere.

Blowing!

Govt. Renews Attack

BANNING OF W.I. BROTHERS

Last week three black people were declared "undesirable inhabitants or visitors."

In the case of Dr. C.Y. Thomas, Neil issued his ban when the Vice-Chancellor, the Pro-Vice-Chancellors and most of the academic staff were off the island. What a coincidence that all University officials happened to be away, except the reactionary Bajan Registrar, who is one of their staff were being sacked. Also a coincidence that

the bannings were published the morning after ABENG was already printed and at a time when students were scattered all over Jamaica and the West Indies.

GREATER DICTATORSHIP

Greater dictatorship over independent workers now matches greater dictatorship over the University. Student Union closed down the week before. C.Y. Thomas banned last week, code of ethics next term to punish black solidarity: either between staff and students or intellectual and sufferer. Frater, Burt, Wynter serve PNP JLP but let no servant of blackman come from UWI according to the enemy. ABENG

understands that in the face of repression the Student President has agreed to make no statement without consulting headmaster Marshall. In the meantime progressive black intellectuals are working to secure Dr. Thomas' contract, protest dictatorship, and prevent it in the future.

But the cases of Clive Thomas and Brother Degia and Brother Joey Jagan are merely the most immediate reflection of all the crazy preparation being hurriedly concocted by the Jamaican and West Indian Governments in pursuit of their own skins and the cause of imperialist plunder. These preparations have been taking place since October of last year when the wrath of

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The Facts!

Dr. C.Y. Thomas has spent practically all of his academic life in Jamaica. He has written jointly with others or alone, four books on various aspects of economics: theory related to Jamaica and the West Indies. Included among these is the monumental work "The Dynamics of West Indian Economic Integration" which he co-authored with Dr. Havlock Brewster. He has also published seven articles on economics including a study of the Coffee Industry in Jamaica and on the Cocoa Output in the Caribbean.

Among his important work Dr. Thomas has done on behalf of the UWI a report for Guyana on evolving a Financial Structure. He did, along with Dr. Brewster, a study for the Heads of the West Indian Governments Conference in Barbados in 1966 and a study which was presented by the Jamaican Government to the Commonwealth Finance Ministers Conference in Kingston in 1967.

In addition to these Dr. Thomas has produced numerous other papers on other economic matters, some of which have been read at Seminars and Conferences at McGill University in Canada, London School of Economics as well as the United Nations Trade and Industry Development Board.

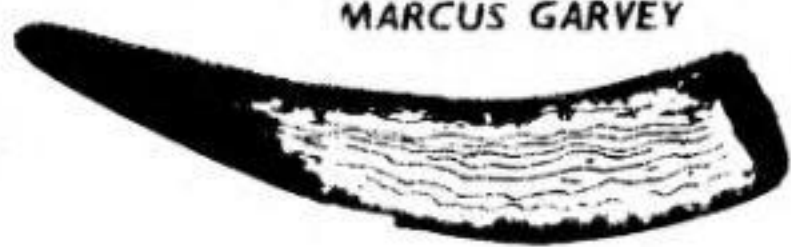
He is currently Head of an Economic Mission to advise the Government of Grenada on a long-term Development Programme and he is Head of a Monetary Research Studies Programme at the UWI.



ABENG

"We want our People to think for themselves"

MARCUS GARVEY



Vol. 1 No. 32 September 6th, 1969

Revolutionary Poems 2

(ED. NOTE - The second volume of "Revolutionary Poems" is now out. ABENG urges all its readers to get a copy of these significant forms of liberation. The following are a statement and poem drawn from this new volume.)

A MOST IMPORTANT THING: the ENEMY is a SYSTEM, an established way of ruling. The people who run it. White, Brown (and the Black Stooze) are little Seconds fast ticking off, quickly replaced by more Seconds. More and MORE: as each set does and goes another set comes.

What we have to remove and replace is the System.

BEWARE of fighting names and persons because then we triumph only over Shadows and the SYSTEM uses US.

Black Heart, BEWARE! Know your aim: REPLACE THE OPPRESSOR-SYSTEM WITH YOUR OWN TRUE WORTH AND EFFORT.

PUBLICATION AIM: To help get Blackman everywhere

thinking and acting as himself, and moving forward together, as a People and to remind him in his actions, planning and endeavours that the degree of Justice he can evolve from and for himself will be a contribution to all Mankind.

Authority cannot be a substitute for Justice: Justice generates its own force of Authority, and Authority without true Justice is IGNORANT or MAD.

BLACK SUN RISING
(MOTHER TO CHILD)

God-child,
wipe your eyes
see!
there's a sun rising
just Jah you.
For once child
there's a day
for your growing
there's a future
without fruits
of bluish sorrow.

Manley: A balancesheet



"Men make their own history but in conditions not determined by themselves." These conditions of family, house, neighbourhood, school, etc. await every man at birth; as well as vary according to where a man is born. Society makes man before he can remake society. For it is man's social place which gives him his ideas, attitudes and opportunities, brings out abilities and aspirations which may then work for or against existing society which made them.

Norman Manley came from a time and place in Jamaican society which placed a very definite print on its sons and

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Bro. Degia

Special

W.I. exiles assist in struggle

ED. NOTE: This article is reprinted from Montreal's Black Community News Service, L'HUR, August 18, 1969.

Whites like to argue that the fact that more and more Afro-Caribbean people emigrate to Canada each year is an indication of "the decline of racial discrimination" in Canada. Well that's a lot of pigshit. In point of fact, black people leave their homes for Canada not out of any desire to participate in Canadian nation-building, but because they wish to flee from the stifling oppressive conditions existing in the Caribbean. This is one of the average man's methods of defying the imperialists. Many of those Oxford type sociologists like to declare that black people immigrate for the same reasons as whites... to make money. That is not true. Our history over the last few centuries illustrates that we are involved in a constant struggle against slavemasters to create our strong nations, free and independent. We are accustomed to catching hell. We do not enjoy it but there is no other means by which we can be free. Every black mother who works her fingers to the bone washing clothes for somebody, or every black father who refuses to take his vacation and stays on the job, knows what it is to catch hell. And that is the way it has been in the Caribbean. We have tried to build a free nation but over the last few years the people have been betrayed by a few bandits. Why should Afro-Caribbean people remain to help Williams and Burnham get richer... because that is what their "development plans" are all about. Some people wage their own wars with the system... some deliberately go slow on their jets... others are constantly "ill"... others become activists while others migrate. The emigrant imposes exile on himself. This is his way of saying Hell No to the repugnant yardboys of Richard Milhous Nixon... the king of the pigs.

The immigrant comes to make a new home while the exile changes the scene of the struggle. Caribbean exiles in England have done considerable damage to the British economy by sending money back to relatives still trapped on the plantation. The large outflow of capital from Britain to the islands damaged the pound and helped the Caribbean economy. This is precisely what angered Enoch Powell ex MP. It was not the abundance of blacks as much as the turmoil they caused. To give you an idea of this economic sabotage carried out by the brothers and sisters in Britain, take a look at Jamaica. The amount of postal and money orders going into Jamaica from Britain in 1952 was \$315,600... and in 1960 it was \$5,579,000. To give you an idea of what that meant to Jamaica, in 1960 four expatriate bauxite companies earned a total of \$27,500,000 of which the Government received only \$3,741,000 in royalties and income tax. Thus the Jamaican exiles in Britain contributed nearly \$2 million more than those racist bauxite companies.

DEFYING THE PLANTATION

This is an admirable way of fighting our racist oppressors and their criminal cohorts, i.e. Shearer etc. However we must bear in mind the fact that there are some together brothers and sisters who have remained on the plantations to defy those bandits. They are concerned with serious work and as a result they are constantly faced with cowardly attacks by agents and functionaries of the bacra. For example the paper in Jamaica ABENG, was setback by a fire which ravaged its printery. Abeng needs money. The Black Star of Barbados needs money. In Trinidad the paper MOKO and the community centre in Tunapuna, "the TAPIA HOUSE" both are in dire need of funds.

HOW TO HELP THE STRUGGLE

In the light of all that has been said, a group of Afro-Caribbean exiles decided to try to help the brothers free the plantations. Rather than go around asking for donations it was decided to commence operations by holding all night dances at the Trinidad & Tobago house. The very first one yielded \$80, the second was less successful. Nevertheless the idea of spending one normal Saturday night out with knowledge that the proceeds will be used for the revolutionary purpose of freeing the Caribbean of imperialism and its disgusting stooges, has satisfied many. There is usually some Soul-food such as Soupe or saltfish and bread... as there is no capitalist's profit motive, ample portions are served. Admission is one dollar. Please come along and bring your friends. Remember that every dollar that remains in Canada helps to make Canada stronger... a strong Canada means an enslaved Caribbean.

by K. BENSON

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UNITE to FIGHT DICTATORSHIP

"No more
long day or
long night"

To all those involved in Abeng, one love, one heart, one destiny. This is I first letter to ABENG since it has come to life, although I have been a reader from the start. Taking in the Sound that is not only penetrating the hearts and minds of us in Jamaica, but to every conscious minded sufferer throughout the world who is suffering because of the germs of Imperialism and Colonialism. And most of all, through their puppetical tools or stooges.

But let us not give up Brothers and Sisters although the prickles and thorns of imperialism and colonialism, whose Mother & Father is Babylon is to be found on the road of our daily life. As conscious-minded and loving people, we all know that the end of our struggle will be sweet, just as the prophet, Brother Marcus Mosiah Garvey, has said to us just a short while ago when he was blowing this HORN.

As we all know, some of the reptiles that were trying to stop the horn of freedom from blowing are still here to see the beginning of their destruction. Little do they know that those great men, Garvey, Christ, Bogle and other immortal souls, which cannot die, live for ever to execute judgement for the freedom and release of suffering humanity.

So, at this particular time, I am calling on all Brothers and Sisters, especially those who are able to use their Mental eye to stand up and support this worthy cause. Now, Remember that universal MORALITY is at stake, especially for us, the BLACK SUFFERERS. So don't be frightened, Don't be downhearted, Don't be discouraged.

Either it be man, woman, or child, come out now and fight for this cause. Support ABENG, and keep this HORN blowing until we have overcome.

Remember, there is no more long day or long night, for the Almighty ABBA has promised to shorten his time just for the Elect.

The blessing of JAH be with you.

RAS JOE.

25. 8. 69.

Bongo Neville & F. Jarrett
as Socks as Macko

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Bro. Degia Tells it..

On arrival in Jamaica I at once noticed the large gap between rich and the poor—the social injustice in relationship to the colour skin. It did not take a long time to discover that the majority of the people were Black people of African descent and the richer and well-to-do were white and Chinese.

It is against these conditions that I have always spoken out. Many with whom I spoke were not too clear in their minds about the real position; thus the Government was able to deceive them. In fact the ruling class capitalizes on the ignorance of the people, using the Peace Corps further the brainwashing of the people, especially the youths at school.

But the Jamaican people are quick learners, from the Rodney Affair the people have realized that the Government and for that matter the two parties (JLP/PNP) will not be able to solve their problems. The people made a note of the opposition's reluctance to put up any opposition to the Government's high-handedness in banning Brother Rodney and the passing of the Constitution.

Jamaican man is no longer saying "I don't know, I don't understand." They are asking, "why?" They want to know why is it that a country rich in bauxite has to be subservient to the countries who need the ore. Jamaican Black man is asking why is it they are still second-class citizens yet they are supposed to be an Independent nation.

Jamaicans have learned their lessons well, they have learned by the sting of the whip, in the same way our ancestors learned in slavery and colonial days. The black consciousness that is alive in Jamaica today is artificial, it is not imported, it is a genuine awareness of THINKING Jamaicans, who have come to realize that it is not their God-given right to suffer, but their right to share in the wealth of the country which they are being robbed of by the Imperial powers of North America and Europe. And it is for this very reason that Jamaicans want to vank the present unjust society.

By declaring Brother C.Y. Thomas and myself undesirable immigrants does not mean that the people who were associated with us are going to stop thinking, in fact it will make them think more and be more conscious of the injustice and social inequality in this sick society. Jamaicans have always had a good history of struggle—the Maroons were NEVER defeated, they carried on their struggle for over 50 years.

In spite of the relentless propaganda of the Government about black non-Jamaicans and their hostility towards them, I have never one day felt ill at ease among the Jamaican masses. They accepted me as a Brother, friend, and a teacher—another West Indian. I was able to walk free among MY people after being made undesirable by McNeil. There was never a threat, never a fear, in fact the ban on me has drawn us closer.

The present Government has created situations and conditions similar to those in 1865—yet they do not know that the spirit of PAUL BOGLE is alive in Jamaica today.

ABENG

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The Univ. student speaks Statement on Dr. Thomas

The following statement put out by the Students External Affairs Committee, UWI, Mona, was unanimously endorsed at a meeting called last Friday night at the Extra-Mural Centre to protest the banning of Dr. C.Y. Thomas.

Dr. C. Y. Thomas, 33, a Guyanese economics teacher at the Mona Campus UWI, has been banned from entering Jamaica. The ban was imposed by Roy McNeil, Minister of Home Affairs in the Jamaica Labour Party Government. A "Gleaner" report of Friday August 29 says the ban was imposed on the man because he is "AN UNDESIRABLE INHABITANT OR VISITOR TO JAMAICA".

According to McNeil, Clive Thomas is a security threat to the people of Jamaica.

This means that the well-being of the GREATER MAJORITY of the people living in Jamaica was being threatened by the ideas and actions of Dr. Thomas according to McNeil.

The greater majority of the people living in Jamaica 95% are Africans and it is contradictory that a black African, who supports the unification of Africans at home and abroad is a threat to these same Africans.

We believe that it is a lie that the majority African population is threatened by the ideas of this man.

This ban is part of the repressive measures that are being carried out by White Racist American Imperialists, and carried out by their local political stooges and lackeys, against the Jamaican people.

The External Affairs Commission of the Guild of Undergraduates, UWI, wishes to make the true nature of this ban known, i.e. as part of a backward and ultimately self-destructing policy on the part of the Jamaican government. The EAC notes the attempts to prevent political contact between the African peoples in the Caribbean (in this case Guyanese and Jamaicans) yet at the same time increase in joint economic exploitation of the region.

THE EAC CALLS ON ALL STUDENTS TO EXPRESS THEIR DISSATISFACTION AT THIS THE DICTATORIAL AND OPPRESSIVE ACTS AGAINST THE JAMAICAN PEOPLE, AND CALLS FOR SERIOUS PUBLIC FREE REASONING ON THE IDEAS AND OPINIONS EXPRESSED BY THE JAMAICAN GOVERNMENT AND AN ENQUIRY INTO THE WHOLE POLICY.

WISCO & B.I.T.U. are... loving Brothers

Greeting to you and all the readers of Abeng. We all united ourselves in sending this letter to you, informing you of a Case between over-irrigators at Monymusk and the Company.

From 1962 the BITU and the Company signed an agreement to pay 4% per acre extra for the removal of plough mould. From 1962 until we have not gotten a cent. We have taken it to the Union Secretary, Hilton Brown at Race Course. Well, he took up the Case and wrote some of the officials at Monymusk asking them to fix a date for a conference. They fixed the date for January. I do not remember the date, but I sent and told us to meet them there.

Over 300 of us went to the First Conference which was directed by Hilton Brown for the Company and Mr. Heron and some more for the Company. For the Union there were Mr. Hilton Brown, our secretary, and some more.

Mr. Hilton Brown brought in the Union Bible with the Agreement therein. Mr. Brown for the Company stood up and said, 'I acknowledged it, but we cannot pay the whole of it'. Mr. Hilton Brown for the Union remarked that it was due for the workers because it was signed by the Company. For the Water one, Mr. Brown for the Company said could not do anything to it, so to take it to a higher level. So they walked out of the Conference room. Mr. Brown for the Union came to us and asked us to go back to work and that he would let us know when the conference would be. So we go back to work.

About 2 months after we were called again at Monymusk to the Second Conference. It was directed by Mr. Landford and some other officials of the Company and the same men for the Union. There, Mr. Landford only say that it must go to a higher level.

It was taken to Kingston for the third time and was directed by Mr. Landford and some more for the Company. For the Union, Mr. L. Stone & Mr. Brown and some delegates. Well, Mr. Rennie for the Company could not stand up and say to take it to Arbitration. From that time until now, we do not hear nothing about it again.

Now Sir, and all the readers of Abeng, isn't it a shame because it is a case which we work for already. It has no need to be Arbitrated. We have for that 7 years now. So we, the 440 Irrigators, are calling upon Mr. Noel Manley and the Council for Human Rights to help us now, because we lose confidence in the BITU and also the Company.

Do you know that WISCO officials become robbers and are oppressing us.

Come now, WORKERS, let us UNITE and free ourselves. Let us do it. NO LONGER.

We thank you,
BRO. ROY,
BRO. BARTLE,
BRO. FRANCIS.

Clarendon
Race Course P.O.
August 26, 1969.

Report from Mo-Bay M.A.C can' lick-E-Back

25/8/69.

Montego Bay, the second city, and the main 'white men resort' stinks with corruption created by common enemy viz. the bourgeoisie and white exploiters consequently by the top men in Jamaica's 2 most baneful gangs labelled PNP & JLP. Logically, the stench created by these dishonest people is only obnoxious to members of the 'sufferers class' in this town, and the entire St. James as a whole. Depravity by the 'oppressive class' is so intense in this town that it would be ridiculous to attempt to relate them all in this report, nor is there enough paper on which to put it. One of the most recent ills however, was the inception of MAC (Montego Bay's Action Committee). I will proceed to explicate the necessity for this new gang headed by people of the 'Oppressive Class' here.

PEOPLE BEHIND MAC.

MAC's 2 main slogans are 'Back Mac' and 'Paint-Up, Clean-Up'. Its head is one Harold Delissera, white man, an extensive landowner in at least 3 parishes, including St. Mary, Hanover and St. James. He is also the owner of a number of hotels on the North Coast numbering not less than four. Other members of the gang include men like Howard Cooke MP for North Western St. James, John Rollins (white men) a millionaire, and major exploiter on the North Coast. He owns the entire and historic Rose Hill Estates and is currently engaged in the building of a several million dollars hotel to be called the 'Holiday Inn'.

A fourth member that qualifies for mention is Ken Jones (white man). He is the editor-owner of the 'Beacon' a newspaper concerned with propagandizing white men principles to the entire North Western Jamaica.

REASON FOR MAC.

It has been revealed that visitors for the first time and frequenters to Montego Bay are becoming increasingly concerned about the situation of the town half a mile due West of the hotel areas. The disgraceful sanitary conditions, the drab looking buildings and the state of the shacks and 'dirty people' that live in Railway lane, Barnett lane - areas which make up some of the complaints received by the Tourist Board and Hotel Managers. Incidentally, the 2 lanes mentioned above constitute a slum area in the centre of town. The tourists also noted that these 'tours' follow the same routes and only the 'desert' areas out of town were toured. Some of these tourists have out-

spokenly declared their dissatisfaction and have threatened never to return to the Island in the So.

Obviously if more tourists came consciously aware of this appalling situation it would cause a serious setback to the influx of 'Whiteys' to Montego Bay and Jamaica as a whole. Thus the inception of MAC.

The oppressive and money-hungry class espousing this 'grave tourist situation' gathered together and decided to exploit the working class black people of Montego Bay by using them to be the main body in their 'Paint-up, Clean-up' campaign.

The Minister of Trade & Industry, 'Robert Liebowitz' joined publicly with the gang on the St. James Parish Church's compound to orate to sufferers the 'benefits' from becoming supporters of the 'Paint-up, Clean-up' campaign. The conscious blacks of Montego Bay soon discovered however, that this 'Benevolence' was delusive in that he was 'working for nothing' and was at the same time supporting people who are only concerned with maintaining the status quo.

The MAC organisation is speedily becoming a gang of the past, and issuing T-shirts with the 'Back MAC' slogan inscribed on them won't do any good to the gang leaders. The blackman is now conscious.

THE YOUTHS OF MONTEGO BAY.

The youths of Montego Bay are extremely militant. This of course, is no peculiar revelation as there is a common identity between nearly all the youths in the fourteen parishes of Jamaica.

Day by day, youths here are becoming seriously aware of the flaws in the reactionary 2-party parliamentary system headed by PNP-JLP careerists.

People that decide to accept all the teachings of 'White Men Culture' and become homosexuals are beaten mercilessly until the individual takes leave of the town. More and more youths here are identifying themselves with the Rastaman, and it won't be long now before Montego Bay takes a significant step forward in the promotion of Black Liberation for all Blacks in

BRO. DEBO REID,
MONTEGO BAY.

Keep Abeng Blowing!

Time for a Change

Time for a change,
It's been too long,
Equal rights and justice for the blackman.

Sound the horn tell the people,
It's been too long,
Wake them! shake them! tell them the day has dawned.

How long must the blackman live
How long?

Arise blackmen! on your feet, sword in hands
Charge!!!
It's been too long,
Soul Brothers, sweet soul Sisters,
How long?

ERROL A. THOMAS.

Rocky Point & Sugar Politricks

The group of politicians who claim to rule this country always feel that they can pull a fast one over the men who own and therefore really rule the country: the banana people, the hotel owners, the sugar barons and their commercial middlemen. But time and time again, the truth will out. This week it is the sugar boys who have given our government its lesson.

Some months ago, Pharaoh, as Prime Minister and sometime Island Supervisor of the BITU, announced with great fanfare, he had pulled off a big coup on the West Indies Sugar Company. In return for piecemeal mechanisation of the sugar loading process at Rocky Point, so-called bulk loading, WISCO would agree to provide a large amount of compensation for the workers who were put out of a job. The sugar barons had claimed unless they got this concession of mechanization from the Government/Trade Union, they would very soon not be able to operate and the industry would die on its feet. Of course we must remember that at least once every decade for the last two or three centuries, the sugar barons have announced that unless some big concession were given to them, the sugar industry would die.

Pharaoh naturally was overjoyed with his "successful" deal. He had killed all the birds with one stone. He satisfied the BITU by not agreeing to mechanization in the field; and he satisfied WISCO by agreeing to a little mechanization at Rocky Point.

So surprise! On Saturday, while the Sugar Manufacturers Association was announcing on the back page of the Gleaner how much sugar contributes to the welfare of the people of this country, WISCO was announcing on the front page of the Gleaner that because they had lost money on the crop last year, they couldn't find £750,000 to carry out the agreement they had made with Pharaoh. WISCO, which is owned by Tate & Lyle of England, which has milked this country for centuries cannot now find £750,000? And Sir Robert Kirkwood, the foreign sugar-owners' cuckoo-clock came out on time to say that our white masters do not think they can continue to operate in Jamaica much longer.

We smell a rat? What WISCO really wants is for Pharaoh's Government to give it a loan of £750,000 to pay for the bulk-loading installation. We suspect that they will even ask for a loan to pay workers' compensation. The people of this country will now be subsidising their exploiters even more.

Pharaoh will have to think hard on this one, for the politricks of sugar are fast coming home to roost. The sugar companies are planning to give up the production of sugar in Jamaica. It is only a matter of time. In the face of that there is only one thing to be done now: take over the sugar lands and throw the barons out without compensation.

But neither Pharaoh nor Joshua will promise to do that. For neither of them can depend on the people whose abiding support and commitment would be needed for the reorganisation of agriculture that would have to form a move as drastic and radical as this.

had an equally definite relation to other social groups. Everything about the coloured gentry of Hanover and Manchester—and generally the “creole” coming from unions of slave and master—impressed on their offspring the need to achieve. Achievement implied standards of measurement. The only standards available were those of colonialism. Excellence in creole culture therefore meant prowess in the ideas, values and academic institutions of the enemy. None before him, and perhaps none after him will, match Manley’s mastery of the historic mission of his social group—equality with the white man on the white man’s terms. These terms had little to do with the exaltation through struggle of the ideas, institutions and behaviours of the black masses; rather it had much to do with his “enlightenment” and therefore the subordination of Blackman.

To the son of gentry, conditions at the turn of the century gave little scope for any other aim. To the peasant youth of the same generation, because of closeness to the soil and distance from the social pinnacles, glorification instead of Europeanisation of Blackman lay just on the horizon as a possible ambition. This was Garvey – his choice was more difficult less pre-determined and therefore is taking longer to mature. For Manley the choice to excell on accepted criteria was relatively easy though the actual achievement of excellence still required extraordinary talent, energy and discipline. The recognition of his brilliance by the ex-master was one result of the man's success, the granting of legal independence to a nation staffed by lesser men of the same stamp, the same achievement writ large.

But this achievement was at the same time a failure not only of Manleys but of the social group he embodied. Excellence on the master's criteria meant putting greater distance between himself and the black half of his ancestry. Plant-

ation society required antagonism between house-slave and field-slave, brown and black. Their sons inherited attitudes which would remain, develop their own life and last long. The man who embodied brown culture on the rise could be admired, respected by Blackman, but not easily followed by him. Bustamante, in contrast never really excelled in creole culture and therefore had less of the attitudes which would separate him from Blackman. Manley himself recognised this intuitively at first—his resistance to entering politics, his acknowledgement of the obvious that if labour had a leader in 1938, it was Bustamante.

It is important to understand that Manley's achievement and his failure were a unity; we could not have had one without the other. He could not have been the eminent lawyer he was without being counsel to the Wharfowners in 1938 for example, and therefore appear the friend of the oppressor"—as the Jamaica Labour Weekly put it at the time. He could not have so thoroughly absorbed British 19th century liberal democratic thought without failing to see—in 1961 inapplicability to 20th century Jamaican political practise. His life therefore reflected and advanced the rise of brown Jamaica, a task which by and large excluded the mobilisation of black Jamaica.

Neither he nor his class however could hold black back. Nor did he or they want to; for they would hardly have seen a clash—building the nation meant making it brown creole culture and black power would contradict one another only when creole culture failed to solve Blackman's problem and Blackman experienced the failure. This is now. The interests Manley represented and advanced have run their course and can now only hold on by force. To do so would undermine rather than preserve the work of this man: for that work, like the work of any historical stage, must yield to the new times it helped create, or be destroyed.

the Jamaican sufferers drove the political stooges in office to seek the protective cover of the OAS and Imperialist military assistance plus the help of other W I Governments.

What could be more totally reactionary than the banning of Brother Thomas and the deportation of Brother Degia at the very time that over 400 white "volunteers" from England, America and Canada are being imported to do Imperialist hands work? Who are the real aliens? Who are really undesirable?

Brothers Thomas, Jagan and Degan therefore, have been victims not merely of the House niggers anxiety to protect the slavemaster's plantation from trespass, particularly the kind of mental trespass that gives to the field-slaves the real lay of the land. The question is basically who is to be chief Head-nigger for the white man and for how long? Slaves to Imperialism for 300 years now their deadliest enemy is freedom—that is all.

COMMODITY	CONSUMPTION PER CAPUT
Beef	1½ lbs. per month
Pig, goat sheep meat	2¼ ozs. " "
Butter	5¼ ozs. " "
Cheese	3 ozs. " "
Milk	2½ lbs. " "
Eggs	3 " " " "
Fish	3¼ lbs. " "
Rice	2½ lbs. " "
Flour	9 lbs. " "
Textiles (of all kinds)	10 lbs. per year
Footwear (of all kinds)	2 pairs per year

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THE GREAT MUSICAL
'INSURRECTION'
Sunday Sept. 21st. at Gold Coast-
Beach Club, St. Thomas Rd.,
Your Musical Revolutionary KING TUBBY'S
* St. James Club, Lower Beach Town, Orange-Way, Ward
* Theatre 7:30 and 9:00 pm.

For the best in Men's Sportswear,
Shirts and Gaudies visit F. Hurst
55 Maiden Lane, Kingston.

A pair of Brown & White Ladies Tested Glasses was found along Glenmore Rd. off South Camp Rd. outside the Government Trade Centre, on the 2/9/69.
Owner please contact the Abeng Office.

by Blackman

In reasoning out the way forward, Blackman must ask himself why did Coore and Wilton Hill (on the last Argument programme) try so hard to convince ABENG forces that they must form a party? Why does the enemy pray so hard that rising youth will enter elections and party politricks? Obviously because the gangsters would be on their strongest ground—backed with police, army, merchant-vigilante patronage, bribery, and exploitation monies, cut-up constituencies, crooked reporting, and biased TV-Gleaner-Radio. (Even though Stan Grant was not serious was he not legally a candidate in the S.E. St. Andrew by election? How much time did he get on Seaga Television along with Burt and McNeil?

But even if a few men from the third party came through to win despite the attacks of the enemy, how much help would that be to the sufferer? Sure, we might get a few voices crying in the Gordon House Wilderness, but who would hear them. Sufferer can't even go there without jacket, tie and ticket. And if you can't go to hear with your own ear, will Ashenheim Gleaner report fairly (or even at all) sounds which must call among other things, for the destruction of privilege and monopol press. Nevertheless if Black people still had their own paper then we might be able to hear something of what any Brothers in Parliament might say. But how much could a minority actually do?

The majority party in Gordon House and the two-party unions can attend to the sufferer only after they have looked after the master. For example, sugar workers can get wage increases only after the imperialists have been assured high profits—not the other way round. If the Government itself can provide work, land and bread only with the permission of merchants, capitalists and foreign shareholders, a few conscious MHR could do absolutely nothing. In fact the people in the conscious constituencies would get only victimisation in return for taxes paid. All the up-and-coming JLP house-slaves have said as much and the PNP people know it, though it doesn't suit them to say so now.

Putting a few conscious Brothers in then would hardly be worth it. What about getting a majority in? What if black people forget for an election what they have seen, heard and felt, bothered with elections and swept in a people's Government. What would happen? First of all, the local exploiters will send away, by the time such Government took office all the funds they have taken from us so that we can't get it back. Right now some of them who see what is coming are doing so. In this way the labour of Blackman in the form of merchant-capitalist profits, will find itself locked in Swiss Banks unable to help and sufferation in Jamaica. Secondly, which civil service was going to give the facts and information, draft the laws and carry out the policy of a people's Government. The whole purpose of the civil service is to keep some of the old way going to give "continuity despite changes in Government". The whole purpose of people's Government would be to end for all time, the old way, to make change of Government change of policy, not change of face. Which brings us to an important point: elections only change part of the household Government—the main body—the civil service—always remains.

And what about that main body. It is supposed to "serve the Government of the day", but will it, can it serve a revolutionary programme which colonial ways, ideas and organisation would be completely overturned. Any conscious youth in the civil service today can give the answer from experience. To get ahead man has to show manners, respect authority and take orders. The people's Government will find the men who have been the best house-slaves at the top. There will be exceptions, but on the whole the big bureaucrats will remain faithful to the system which put them there.

Thirdly, how would a revolutionary Government get round a Constitution made by the two-party politicians to protect themselves and their masters. Let there be no doubt people's Government would have reclaimed all that has been forcibly taken from Blackman mainly of land and the machinery that our slave-fathers' labour created when they made the white men's Industrial Revolution. Yet Ashkenheim's constitution says "No property of any description shall be compulsorily taken possession of" without compensation which the judgement, not the people's Government, will determine is adequate.

What a joke! The sons of slaves, today's sufferers, must pay compensation to the offspring of pirates, buccaneers and slayemasters. Blacks must pay whitemen in dollars and cents for centuries of slave-ship 'slave-whip' When all they leave here is wages and tax which go out again to buy foreign food and provide local patronage, when they have made several times over their original investment, we must give them more of our country's resources to make them leave our land for our people make a living.

Yet that is one of the things the Constitution under which any people's Government would get elected says. Sure we could change it, this would take so much time and trouble that it might be too late to catch the exploiters with their stolen goods. We could also break the Constitution. Those who made it do so everytime the innocent sufferer gets paid vigilante brutality, instead of "protection of the law". And it is the Constitution, not ours, if they can break it then we must in our interest the interest of the majority whom it was designed to distract and to down.

But learn what would happen when people's Government puts sufferer above the Constitution. The exploiting minority would arm themselves in defence of the exploitation protected by the Constitution. The cry of "unconstitutional" would confuse even some of those brethren who have consciousness but not enough to see that the Constitution is our paper. With their press, radio and money they could create hysteria with their two-party agents and military friends they could start significant disorder. That is all the cover that the most barbaric state in the history of mankind needs to move in protection of imperialism and its houses.